SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: There seems to be a search for one. They have not got one yet. That seems to be the situation.

DISCUSSION ON GULF WAR AND ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION THEREON

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, today the House has agreed to suspend the Question Hour to discuss an extraordinarily important issue which concerns not only our country, but also the whole world. We never had a real debate in the past on the Gulf crisis or the Gulf war. This is the first time we are having this important discussion.

There are two or three things which I would like to highlight during this discussion—first, the Government of India's approach and policy towards this important problem and their attitude to solve this problem; and second the fall-out of this crisis on Indian life and Indian economy. I have been seeing this Government since it took over. Since then up to now, I do not find any positive, meaningful or effective initiative taken by the Government to help resolve the Gulf situation. What I find is to my surprise a very casual, weakened, hesitant and vacillating approach to the whole question. There is no consistency. There is no thrust. There is no enunciation of our approach either to the question of the Middle-East or to the question of the Gulf war. The so-called initiative so far taken has been too late. It has not created any impact either in the Gulf area or in the United Notions where this question has been debated. We have been following a mutually contradictory policy. We have been waiting for the events. We don't foresee the events The art of statesmanship, the art of diplomacy. Sir,, is to foresee the events and to formulate policy foreseeing such events. We have never done. When this matter has been debated in the Chancellaries of the various countries of the world, here we are taking this matter in a manner which does not bring prestige to this country. Sir, India all along has taken firm views on all vital issues and we have played our role in the past very effectively and this was appreciated by all. Today, our voice is not heard anywhere. India has a great tradition. We have denounced and deprecated war and aggression anywhere and tried to take a lead in such matters. We have never defended aggression. We never defended annexation of any territory. We believed in the basic tenets of peace and non-violence. And the Gulf war came up at what time? It came at a time when the world was settling down, when the cold war was being ended, when the confrontation between the super-powers was coming to a close. At that part of time this development took place in the Middle-East. What did we do at that time? We did our best when we were in the Government to protect our interests. We tried to protect the lives of our people. Nearly 5 lakh Indians or 6 lakh Indians are staying in the Middle East. We tried to protect them.

. . . . . .

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

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But when this Government came to power, I expected them to take political and diplomatic initiatives and use the nonaligned forum and the United Nations to find out a solution to this problem. They have not done so. We thought there would be a contingency plan at least to take care of the fall-out of the Gulf crisis. The Prime Minister called an emergency meeting of the Cabinet. He also called a meeting of Chief Ministers. And the Planning Commission also had a meeting. But we do not find any plan emerging out of these conferences or meetings. I thought there would a contingency plan to meet the economic situation arising out of the Gulf crisis. We import nearly 90 per cent of oil, crude oil, from the Middle-East. We import 40 per cent of crude oil from the two countries Kuwait

and Iraq. And we have got trade with these countries. The situation has become so serious that it has disturbed our trade; it has disturbed our oil supplies; it has created scarcities of all sorts which have led to a price crisis in the country. No contigency plan has been evolved to tackle these problems, even today.

Madam, I only heard today in the television broadcast that the Gorbachev Plan has been more or less endorsed by Saddam Hussein. And, there are two important elements in it. One is the withdrawal of Iraqi forces, a full and complete withdrawal of Iraqi forces, from Kuwait. The other is the withdrawal of allied forces from the Middle-East. Many countries of the world seem to be responding to this proposal. Perhaps, if this report is correct, Saddam Hussein has been able to fulfil the basic demands made by America and its allies. But so far, I am told, America has not responded to the proposal. They have not responded. (*Interruptions*) I am saying what I heard in the television broadcast. If this is true, then I think the proposal should have a chance; it should be considered bp America and its allies. Madam, in this context, Saddam Hussein has not been insisting on linking up the Kuwait problem with Palestine. He has not been insisting. Nevertheless, he has raised the issue. He has raised the Palestine question. If the Middle-East has to be peaceful and if the Middle-East has to be free from external influences or interferences, it is imperative that the entire question of Palestine should be settled in the near future. Though we do not subscribe to the theory that this should be linked to the withdrawal from Kuwait—I think that has been given up now by Saddam Hussein—but if the Middle -East has got to be peaceful and stablised and if the Middle-East countries have to coexist and develop, the Palestine question has got to be solved. The Government of India so far has not evolved any policy on West Asia. This has been a lacuna for the past so many years. We do not have a cogent rational policytowards the Middle-East. India has got a vital stake in the Middle-East. The Middle-East is very important for India. We neglect it at our own cost. I plead with the Government or the Government which will succeed this Government that they should evolve an effective Middle-East policy whereby not only the interests of various countries in the Middle-East are taken care of but the Palestine question is also solved. I said in the beginning that India always believes in coexistence, in peace. India does not believe that war is an instrument of policy. It does not believe that in the violation of national sovereignty, interlerance in the affairs of other countries. When the whole world is moving towards establishment of peace, it should be our endeavour to play a vital role, a key role in this. India occupies the most important area in Asia, in the East. It is the heart land of South Asia. Everybody looks forward for a bold initiative in this matter. We should have a solution to the Gulf Crisis. Mere withdrawal of forces from Kuwait bp Iraq will not end the conflict. It will not solve the problem. You want liberation of Kuwait completely from Iraq but at the same time I would like the problems arising out of the conflict to be solved. There should be a comprehensive solution and settlement of the MiddleEast problems where Palestine is vital. I hope the United States will respond well. I also hope that the proposal of Mr. Gorbachev will be accepted and endorsed by all the countries of the world and by the United Nations. In this context, I was disturbed on one question, that is, on the question as to how our Government moved, and it is about refuelling of the military aircraft, the American military aircraft, and it is about how we handled it, how this Government has handled it. This Government has been taking indefensible positions, varying positions. And, when the Prime Minister

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]
was confronted with this question, he was prevaricating and even today he is prevaricating on this issue. It is not the mere refuelling of a few aircraft which is important, but it is our approach, our attitude to the whole question, which is important. It is a question as to whether this Government is interested in solving the Gulf crisis or whether it will help the crisis to develop and whether it wants the crisis to become more critical.

Shri Chandra Shekhar said that the refuelling is going on for long, that it is a normal practice. During peacetime, yes, may be. May be that if the Government of the day permits refuelling of any military aircraft during peace-time, perhaps it is justifiable in certain circumstances. But, during wartime, when we are really interested to defuse the crisis in the Middle-East, how can we allow the American Military aircraft to have fuel here? It is not a question of a few dollars or a few rupees, but it is a question of principle. Who permitted it? Mr. Chandra Shekhar has said that formal permission is not necessary, that it is the usual practice. This is how he looks at it. It is very extraordinary that the Prime Minister of India is trying to play down the whole matter ... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): It was allowed earlier also... (*Interruptions*) ... There was annexation of Kuwait at that time and it was allowed even then ... (*Interruptions*) ... It was a war condition at time|.. (*Interruptions*). and the whole world was trying to souve the problem ... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am trying to say what our response to that during war is and what our attitude is... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): After 1990, you people had given permission for refuelling... (*Interruptions*) ... It was wrong... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Am I to suppose that you also want to commit the same wrong ?...(*Interruptions*) ... I say, yes, it is wrong... (*Interruptions*)...It is totally wrong to have permitted the refuelling of aircraft during the wartime... (*Interruptions*) ... It will not speak high of us ... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): It is preparation of the war. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHARMAN: Order, order... (*Interruptions*) ..

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): It is not the Iraqi planes, but it is the American planes which have come... (*Interruptions*) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, please... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: At that time the planes were refulled or not? That is the question... (*Interruptions*) ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All the people who are intervening just now, their names are listed here. When their turn comes, they can defend their claims. But let the discussion now go on in a peaceful manner.

12 NOON

SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala): The very deal is atrocious .. .. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us work for peace in this House also when we are talking of peace. (*Interruptions*) have other Members also to speak.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): Madam, do you think that we seriously fight? We pretend to fight; Therefore, you kindly do not say so. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam, was most unfortunate was that when the Prime Minister was asked on this issue he said that Washington is going to stop an any case —this refuelling here. So Washing-

ton is making our policy. It is not we who will make our foreign policy. Is it Shri Chandra Shekhar, Prime Minister of India, or the Government of India, or is it Mr. Bush, President of America there? Our foreign policy is being made our unmade by Washington.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Did you not send Mr. Jethmalani there to collect funds and to bring Mr. V.P. Singh as Prime Minister? Have you forgotten it? Now you are talking about America.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Mr. Jethmalani will meet you latter. He will answer you. Let me go on. Who is making your foreign policy?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Jethmalani.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Is it the Government of India or is it the Government of America? Have you mortagaged our interests to America? I am not denouncing America. We hold the American Government in esteem. But I condemn the attitude of the Prime Minister and the Government of India here. What are we doing? We are selling our interests.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): The V. P. Singh Government had started it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Don't be obsessed with V. P. Singh You are too much obsessed with V. P. Singh. That is your problem. You are suffering from paranoia. You are suffering from a wrong psychology. Mr. Subramanian Swamy its come. (*Interruptions*)

AN. HON. MEMBER: Chandraswamy... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: The Government of India or the Prime Minister till today have not held an effective consultation with the Opposition leaders. He might have informal talks. But he has not done that. (*Interruptions*) My friend saying that there is no Government worth the name, so where is the question of consultation?

AN HON. MEMBER: Yet some people are supporting that Government. (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): Madam Deputy Chairman, Mahatma Gandhiji has said that that Government is the best which governs the least.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): And if somebody else governs, it is worse.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Mr. Subramanian Swamy is giving a philosophy of the Government.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I have quoted Mahatma Gandhi. It is Mahatma Gandhi's quotation I am giving you.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: It is your philosophy, I said. I never comment on what you said. (*Time bell rings*)

Finally, Madam, the Government has sent a delegation or is sending a delegation today to Baghdad as a part of NAM. And NAM is not coordinating its views and activities with non-NAM countries also in this regard. And I don't object to that going to Baghdad at this hour of time because there should be more diplomacy, there should be more consultation, there should be more dialogue to defuse the crisis. But a senior member should go in the delegation. After all, is is going on behalf of the country. I don't denounce my colleague here. If he becomes the Cabinet Minister, I have no objection. Let him go. When he represents a country like India...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Still there is time from his departure and now.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: There is still time| I have no objection. Let a senior member from the Government go there.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Senior member means senior by age?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: A full-fledged Minister.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Mr. Gurupadaswamy you seem to be pleading for your name-sake, Mr. Swamy.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I think, Shiv Shankerji has caught me wrong.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: If there is a Shadow Cabinet, Mr. Shiv Shanker could be sent.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I do not want to comment on Mr. Subramaniam Swamy. I don't mind Mr. Swamy's going because he will make a mess.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You want me to continue your policy the policy you left behind?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He will give scope to more controversies. Instead of solving the issues, he will complicate the issues. That is the problem.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Gurupadaswamy, he is very dynamic and dynamite. And you call it a mess?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I love him at pesornal level, not for his political views.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Thank God for that.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I like him at personal level.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: He is clearing all the mess that you have created during your tenure of ten months.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I don't tust him to his political views. That is all I say.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The day you begin to trust me, I will begin distrusting myself.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Otherwise, I will always like him and love him.

AN HON. MEMBER: He may order for the arrest of Saddam Hussein. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I conclude by saying that I demand a contingency plan of action? I want a contingency plan immediately so that we know the effects of the Gulf war on the Indian economy and Indian life, and what measures we have to take to meet this fall-out. Secondly, there should be a separate, very vital Cell created in the External Affairs Ministry for West Asia. There is a Cell, I know. It has got to be strengthened. I demand a cogent, rational and progressive policy for West Asia. There is no policy at all. We have been going on an *adhoc* basis. This should stop. Adhoc approach should stop. Thirdly, the Gulf war war should end. We should make all efforts to carry on the dialogue with all the countries of the world to see that the Gulf crisi is defused, the Gulf war is ended. Fourthly, we should see that after this war, Iraq is rehabilitated fully economically.

AN HON. MEMBER: Kuwait also.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Both Kuwait and Iraq. Thank you for correction. Both Kuwait and Iraq should be rehabilitated. All the prisoners of war should be released immediately. And there should not be a demand for reparations. The Uni-

ted Nations should take up the responsibility of helping Kuwait to stand on its own legs.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): This is not a war of the United Nations.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I agree with you, but I said technically.

Next, the Palestinian question which is the bone of contention, and this question has been there since long. We condemn aggression of Saddam Hussain on Kuwait and we also condemn aggression on the Palestinian territory. Aggression anywhere should be condemned. There should be a permanent and an endurable solution to the Palestinian question; they should have their own State and they should be helped to run the State. Israel should vacate the territory which it has occupied. If Palestinian question lingers on, there will be no peace in the Middle East.

And finally, oil which is so vital, so important to everyone, should be protected. Middle East should not become the sphere of influence of great powers. Middle East countries shuld be left to themselves. There should not be any super power rivalry in the Middle East and the Middle East countries should not again have an occasion for a conflict again earh other. There should be a permanent solution. If the Middle East is safe, I am sure, Indian economy will be very much helped. India and the Middle East have got to go together. The Third World countries have got to play a role in this regard. India being a premier country, an important country, should play a leading role. It should be a pace-setter both in diplomacy as well as in policy.

With these words, I invite the Members of the House to suggest whether we should express our view formally in the end after the debate It is for you and for the House to consider. Thank you.

Leave of Absence

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I ask the next speaker, Mr. Shiv Shanker, to speak, I have a small announcement to make.

I have to inform Members that a letter has been received from Shri R. K. Karanjia, who was nominated to the Rajya Sabha on January 11 1991, stating that due to ill-health, he is unable to attend the House. He has, therefore, requested for grant of leave of Absence from all sittings of the House during the current Session,

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri R. K. Karanjia for remaining absent from all sittings of the House during the current Session?

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): Did he take oath in the Chamber?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: A Member who has not made and subscribed the oath of affirmation is entitled to ask for leave of absence from the sittings of the House in order to avoid penalty envisaged in the Constitution. He is not well, and that is why he is unable to came. He has been nominated already. He has not taken oath because he is not well.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): One cannot be present in the House unless one has taken the oath.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): He can take oath anytime he likes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Kaul and Shakdher's Practice and Procedure of Parliament, on page 319, says: A Member who has not made and subscribed the oath of affirmation is entitled to ask for leave of absence from the sittings of the House in order to avoid penalty envisaged in the constitution it is in order. Now, has he the permission of the House?

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[*No, hon. Member dissented.*]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

There is one more small item.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): Madam, we should wish Shri Karanjia speedy recovery.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We wish him speedy recovery so that he can come and take oath.

Now, there is a Paper to be laid on the Table.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE

The Post office Recurring Deposit (Amendment) Rules, 1991

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH): Madam, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 15 of the Government Savings Bank Act, 1873, a copy (in English and Hindi) if the Ministry o fFinance (Department of Economic Affairs) Notification G.S.R. No. 16(E), dated the 9th January, 1991 publishing the Post Office Recurring Deposit (Amendment), Rules, 1991. [Placed in Library. *See* No. LT—2119.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Shiv Shanker please.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, at the outset,....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shiv Shanker, I am sorry, Mr. Rathwa is there. I thought he was not there. This is because of the change in the seating arrangement. I was looking for him that side and he turns out to be this side.

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): you are disoriented.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is disoriented. Not me. Mr. Rathwa to lay the Report of the Railway Convention Committee now.

REPORT OF RAILWAY CONVENTION COMMITTEE

श्री राम सिंह राठवा (गुजरात): उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपकी अनुमति से 1991-92 के वर्ष के लिए लाभांश की दर तथा अन्य आनुषंगिक मामलों के संबंध में रेलवे अभिसमय समिति (1989) के तीसरे प्रतिवेदन की एक प्रति (अंग्रेजी तथा हिंदी में) सभा पटल पर रखता हूं।

DISCUSSION ON GULF WAR AND ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION THEREON—Contd.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Madam Deputy Chairman, let me, at the very outset, extend my sincere compliments to President Gorbachev for his eight-point peace plan for the settlement of the Gulf crisis. I also congratulate President Saddam Hussain for having accepted the proposals of the Soviet President. I have no doubt that in the Resolution that we have agreed to pass in the House today, we will make sufficient provision for our compliments and congratulation for these proposals which have found acceptance. I am also confident that the world community at the United Nations will seize this opportunity and see to it that these proposals are accepted by the Allies, particularly, the United States of America.

Having said this, I would like to make one point clear. In fact, it is so obvious. Nobody has any doubt about the result of the war. I am sure, even President Saddam Hussain